

The Art Bulletin

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College Art Association Of America

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State of Rhode Island, County of Providence.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared John Shapley, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of The Art Bulletin, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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John Shapley

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1921

[Seal]

F. T. Guild, Notary Public
(My commission expires June 30, 1923)

CONTENTS

	Page
TWO ESSAYS ON APPRECIATION, by BENJAMIN IVES GILMAN....	85
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL, by ARTHUR EDWIN BYE.....	90
XENOPHON AND THE BOEOTIAN HELMET, by A. D. FRASER..	99
REVIEWS.....	109



BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: TWO LINES FROM A POEM BY SU SHIH (XI CENTURY) INSCRIBED IN INK ON A SILK FAN BY KAO-TSUNG (XII CENTURY), THE FIRST EMPEROR OF THE SOUTHERN SONG DYNASTY. THE INSCRIPTION IS ILLUSTRATED IN THE PAINTING REPRODUCED ON PLATE XX. IT MAY BE RENDERED:

*Rain veiling the wide river
Bears the dream on and on;
Wind beating against the cliff
Wafts the boat on and on.*

A NOTED CHINESE CONNOISSEUR OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, IN WHOSE ALBUM BOTH PAINTING AND INSCRIPTION WERE PRESERVED, TOOK CARE TO RECORD REGARDING THE INSCRIPTION THAT IN USING THE CHARACTER FOR "SAILING" INSTEAD OF THAT FOR "ANCHORED" THE EMPEROR FOLLOWED THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE POEM

Two Essays on Appreciation

By BENJAMIN IVES GILMAN

I. Fechner's Law in Chinese Art

A EUROPEAN poem consists of vocables—that is, spoken words—conveying an idea. But the charm of the vocables and the charm of the idea, in so far as we can consider them apart, appear in sum vastly inferior to the charm of their combination in the poem. This noteworthy fact is an instance of a psychological principle which a great German of the last century, Gustav Theodor Fechner, called the law of æsthetic aid or enhancement. The pleasure given by the union of pleasant experiences in harmonious combination is much greater than the sum of the pleasures taken separately. For example, the idea of the poet may be that just as in March the grass appears where the snow was, so in a chase the dogs appear where the stag was; and the vocables that express his thought may fall into a rhythm of iambs and anapæsts. But either to entertain the thought simply or to rehearse vocables in the rhythm simply is a comparatively flat occupation; while the verse in which the two occupations are combined,

“When the hounds of spring are on winter's traces,”

is poetry of a high order.

The same analysis applied to a Chinese poem misses an element of no small importance to the effect aimed at by the poet. This element is the permanent visual symbolism by which speech is preserved for future utterance. The ideas of a Chinese poet are linked to his writing in a way unknown among Western peoples. Written Chinese is composed of intricate patterns called characters, each meaning a spoken word, or vocable, and each containing

some remote picture of things related to the ideas the vocables express. Western writing, on the contrary, is composed of simple patterns called letters, which in their original forms also depicted things, but which long ago lost any such natural connection with ideas and became conventional signs for elementary sounds, once heard doubtless in the names of these things. The various combinations of letters which form our written words—let us call them legibles—signify only the vocables that express our ideas. Nothing essential to Shakespeare's purpose in his poetry was lost when his manuscript disappeared (supposing accurate transcriptions made); but a Chinese poet means that his legibles shall be seen as well as his vocables heard. A Western poem can be carried intact from mouth to ear; but a Chinese poem is not carried intact unless it is transmitted also from hand to eye. The Homeric poems were, we say, "committed to writing" at a certain date, far on in their history; but a Chinese poem is never "committed to writing," it is writing to begin with.

Hence, with the Chinese a poem illustrates Fechner's law by a triple enhancement instead of by a double enhancement as with us. Beauty of script—what sinologues call calligraphy—is to be ranked in with beauty of sound and beauty of thought in reckoning the elements of effect at the command of Far Eastern poetry. While with us any script or print that is recognizable as signifying vocables suffices as the record of a poem, in China that the characters should be merely recognizable is not enough. They must possess a certain dignity comporting with their near relationship to the ideas conveyed. Many Chinese poets have also been painters; and the circumstance shows us at once why their script is beautiful and why their pictures are thoughtful. A painting has been called by the Chinese a "voiceless poem." It is a poem to them because they make of it what their characters are, an intricate pattern of lines conveying a content of thought beyond what it depicts; but it is a voiceless poem because the strokes, though resembling those of their characters, do not symbolize vocables as characters do. In Europe painting has had a different history. Even from the days of the Reindeer Men



BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: FAN PAINTING IN INK ON SILK, ATTRIBUTED TO HSIA KUEI (XII CENTURY); SHOWING A SAILBOAT BEFORE A HEAVY WIND ON A RIVER AMONG MOUNTAINS, VIEWED FROM A CRAG WITH STORM-TOSSED TREES. THE PAINTING APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN EXECUTED TO ILLUSTRATE THE INSCRIPTION REPRODUCED ON PLATE XIX



twenty-five thousand years ago, painters have mainly depicted things and only in less degree imparted thoughts through them. The kinship of poetry and painting in China has no parallel among us.

A moral issues from this discussion. It is one of humility in the presence of a complex product of artistic invention, like a Chinese poem. Since it differs from our poetry in appealing to the eye as well as to the ear and mind, we who cannot decipher a Chinese script grasp but two-thirds of the means of enhancement employed by the Chinese poet and hence miss an indefinite share of the flavor of his poem. Our moral is also one of resolve in the presence of an unfamiliar artistic intention like that of a Chinese painting. We shall endeavor to descry and weigh its thoughtful burden mindful that the attempt to rate it altogether by its pictorial qualities, as if it were a painting of the West, would prove us unready to look at it at all.

II. Fine Art and Sentimentality

We can ask two questions about anything—what it is, and whether we like it or not. These likes and dislikes of ours we call, broadly speaking, our sentiments. Since the value of life consists in what we find to like in it, sentiment in the wide sense is all that makes life worth living.

Why, then, is that devotion to sentiment which we call sentimentality universally decried?

The chief reason, though clear, is not yet currently accepted. Sentimentality is selfish sentiment. The sentimentalist sees only that side of a situation which is turned toward himself without thought of the sides it may turn toward others. Moved by it himself, he forgets that others may also be moved, and ignores how they are moved. The warmth without which nothing is worth while pervades the sentimentalist's breast unmixed with any reflected warmth or chill from others' breasts. What Mme. de Warens was to Rousseau we are glad to know from him. What Rousseau was to Mme. de Warens we might be sorry to learn from her. There are hideous possibilities in sentimentality; witness the terrible drawing by Forain showing

a hulking soldier holding on his knee a miserable baby while he feeds it from a spoon. The inscription, "Who would think that I killed the mother," bespeaks a darkened soul capable of revelling in a posture of mercy just because proud of the act of savagery that made it possible.

An indictment of such reach is of the gravest kind. Undeniably the kernel of good in sentimentality is lost in a shell and husk of evil. It may be crime and is always folly.

Gush is the word of contempt we use for the more pardonable forms of sentimentality, and one of the widest fields of its application is the field of fine art. An unlucky fact: what is the secret of it? Why should sentiment about fine art tend to be selfish and become gush?

Because, in the first place, art is born of sentiment and stirs sentiment; yet, in the second place, it is not our sentiment that gave it being and gives it worth, but the sentiment of another, namely, the maker; and in the third place, we can divine the maker's sentiment only by an effort we are more often tempted to forego.

Every work of art has two sides: the fluctuating side it shows the public, and the fixed side it shows the artist, which also is its reason for existing. The artist works in order that others shall see what he has fancied, and shall feel and think about it as he has felt and thought. His work is wrought out of sentiment; but it is his sentiment, and at first private. If, then, in the presence of his utterance, we immerse ourselves in our own sentiment instead, giving free rein to whatever may occur to us of blame or praise, ours is a selfish sentiment; it is sentimentality and a defeat of the purpose of the work before us.

The crucial test of gush is the question: Could the artist himself be brought to accept what we feel and say? The thoroughgoing pursuit of this question is a specific against sentimentalizing over fine art. Until it is answered fairly completely in the affirmative, we are incapable of the rôle of judge. "*Comprendre d'abord; ensuite juger,*" as Paul Bourget somewhere tells us. Would the feelings with which we touch a Greek sculptor's work, with which we see Velasquez, read Shakespeare, or hear Beethoven be admitted by these artists to be the feelings they intended to per-

petuate? Exposed to this test the mental attitude of most of us toward very many of the works of art that move us and set loose our tongues shows that mixture of a little truth and much error which is the hall-mark of sentimentality. "I know what I like," with its unrecognized supplement, "and don't care what others like, the artist included," convicts the phrase-maker at once of brutality in shouting down a speaker seeking to address him and of fatuity in being unaware that he is doing so.

Yet if we have taken to heart the strenuous duty of listening while another has his say, however passionate our response to any artist, the feeling is not gush, not sentimentality, but a rightful homage paid his power.

The American School

By ARTHUR EDWIN BYE

“**A**MERICA is constantly striving for its own national art and in time it will come, but for many years we shall have to find our chief inspiration in Holland and in Italy, and especially in France.”

This remark was made at the International Art Congress in Paris last year by one of our most distinguished women painters, Miss Cecilia Beaux. It was probably made out of courtesy to her French hosts. But whether or not this was the case, the inferred disparagement of American art aroused a storm of comment from writers in the American art press. Most of this comment has been indignant protest. Some of it has been appreciative support of Miss Beaux. But little of it has shown any serious analysis of American art, nor has anyone discussed the question of what a national art is or why it should necessarily exist.

It is very easy to talk about national art. We refer constantly to Italian art, Dutch art, or French art. But what do we mean? Doubtless by Italian art we mean that of the Renaissance. But to one who knows the art of the Italian Renaissance, the term “national” applied to it is ridiculous. Nationalism in the Italian Renaissance! Italy “constantly striving for its own national art,” as America today is said to be doing! It was a mere dream of idealists. We mean, really, Sienese or Florentine, or perhaps Venetian art, and we lump these various schools together for the convenience of loose thinking. Let us then, once for all, abolish the idea of national Italian art, for such an art never existed.

Nevertheless, the question forces itself upon us, is there perhaps something common to all the Italian schools which distinguishes them from the schools of other countries, something that has nothing to do with nationalism, but

rather with the culture of Latin peoples? Yes, there is this something.

We can find this only by reviewing the history of Italian art. Then we learn that Italian art, whether of Siena, of Florence, or of Venice, was the result of a long process. Byzantine art, after eight hundred years, had spent itself by the thirteenth century. Gothic art and Saracenic art, the two other mediæval influences on art in Italy, were felt to be foreign invasions. Then artists turned back to classic Rome. Whatever may be the differences between the various Italian schools, there is always that background of the Byzantine and the classic. The Italians were, after all, descendants of ancient Rome, and the inheritors of the ideals of classic art. They could not escape. Whatever there may have been of conscious struggle, this influence overpowered all. Whatever there may have been of new vision, classic idealism illuminated and glorified all Italian art. Whether we think of Giotto, of Raphael, or of Giorgione, one idea unites them in our minds—their classic sublimity. They present to us an ordered world above reality.

There is something, then, about an Italian painting by which we always recognize it as such, perhaps its reminder of a Greek metope in its system of spaces, or perhaps its suggestion of a Latin poem.

Now, what do we mean by Dutch art? Again, only historic influences can explain it. Here, in the north, we find an art not derived from classic times, but from the Middle Ages only. No philosophy nor science, like those of ancient Greece and Rome, nor hieratic religion binds art to its service. We find Netherlandish art derived from the naturalism of the Middle Ages. Just as the mediæval wood carver filled his choir stalls with grotesque figures, satires on life, just as the illuminator filled his calendars with scenes of feasting and holiday-making, so the seventeenth century painters portrayed the land they lived in and their fellow countrymen. Whatever differences there may have been between the schools of Bruges and Haarlem, Antwerp and Amsterdam, whether we think of Robert Campin or Pieter Breughel, Rembrandt or Meindert

Hobbema, there is one likeness between them all: nature and human life are presented to us realistically.

Can we also characterize French art in such a way? Not so easily, for French art is the result of a conflict of two influences, the Italian classic, the academic, on the one hand, combatted by the Flemish-Dutch naturalism on the other. The history of French art is a history of this warfare. We might also put it this way: Of the two factors, the Italian academic is the soil; the Netherlandish realism is the plant which struggles upon it; the fruit is French imagination. But no matter how described, French art is the result of historic influences; and whenever the two forces are harmoniously combined, we find great imagination, an inward sympathy for facts, a great freedom of fancy. Watteau was the supreme example of this harmonious blending, and his art seems to me to be peculiarly French.

There is another powerful influence beside that of historic tradition, which has always worked to produce a nation's art, that of climate or geography. Perhaps this is the fundamental cause of everything national, producing national temperament, certainly a national architecture. Why did Italy adhere to her basilical style? It was partly, no doubt, because of its classical character, but also, doubtless, because of its suitability to her climate. If so, then climatic conditions produced the frescoed wall and the mosaic apse. Why did France produce the Gothic cathedral? Was it not the result of the architectural problem of how to admit more light and shed more rain? If so, then climate produced the soaring vault and the stained glass window.

So much for the general characteristics of a nation's art, but what about genius? Is genius the result of blind causes over which men have no control? No, there seem to be men who, singly and alone, defy tradition and circumstance, and change the course of succeeding art. Is this true? How are we to account for the Giotto's, the Breughels, the Watteaus of national art? But these men did not change the course of succeeding art. Their greatness was not that they were supermen, divinely gifted, creators. They were seers, prophets. Their ears were closer to the ground.

They heard the rumblings clearer. They felt more deeply. They saw farther. They lived closer to the heart of humanity. They were simpler men, purer Florentines, sincerer Flemings, more sympathetic French. They were the voices who cried out the soul strivings of their fellow countrymen. They were not overturners of old orders—look at them closely—they did not defy the facts of life; but they were moved more profoundly by the forces which make human life what it is. Thus were they greater than their contemporaries. Thus must all men be who would be great.

But did these men, the great ones of art history, concern themselves with problems of nationalism? The question needs no answer. Did they go to foreign sources for their style? No, all we need do is to point to the Italianate Flemings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to show once for all that dependence upon a foreign style means death.

Can we not, then, conclude that a nation's art is the unconscious development of a nation's life, and that the more localized a people are and the more closely they cling to their own homesteads, that is to the life which they intimately know, the more characteristic will be their art?

Now, let us review American art. Do we, like the Italians, Flemish, and French, have traditions? Yes, we are not aborigines. We are, for the most part, Englishmen, transplanted as a cultural unit from the Old World to the New. It would be as foolish to separate American art from its background in England as to separate the American language from its English source. But for one hundred years or so our artistic development was arrested, like a transplanted flower, by the change in soil.

What, then, is the character of our tradition? English art, at the time of the settlement of America, was still clinging to Gothic styles. The earliest houses of New England, like the House of Seven Gables, had overhanging storeys and casement windows. But the simplicity and severity necessary for early American homes found its best expression in the English adaptation of the classic, called the Georgian style. We speedily developed an American

architecture, based on English precedent (sometimes on Dutch, and in the extreme south on Spanish) varied in different localities according to climatic conditions. No one denies an American style of architecture. There should be no need for further discussion, and yet it is strange that those who talk of American dependence on European art never take architecture into consideration.

In painting we remained quite English—Dutch in origin, for England learned how to paint from the Dutch. Our earliest painters worth mentioning were either taught by Benjamin West, the president of the British Royal Academy, or came under his influence.

But painting and sculpture suffered a worse blow than that of mere change of scene, an unnatural blow, aimed by religion. Puritanism and Quakerism regarded art as the Evil One to be spurned and kicked. For art they well-nigh stifled the imagination. Portraiture, of a literal kind, alone survived.

When we began to recover from the Puritan's blow early in the nineteenth century, our painting continued to be English. The Hudson River painters, while having no training, were really inspired by Constable; they knew the works of Constable, Cotman, and Crome from engravings. Genre painting also began to flourish, based largely on the works of Morland, who in turn was, by inspiration, Dutch.

But the Hudson River painters paved the way for the *paysage intime* in America. Inness, our first great American painter, went to Barbizon for inspiration—not, however, until he had already quite matured. He went to England, too, and finally to Holland, the home of landscape painting. And it was but natural for him to turn to these sources, for they were one and the same in spirit. The Barbizon painters were led by the example of Bonington and Constable, and these latter by the seventeenth century Dutchmen.

With the lead of Inness, American art developed naturally. Primitive conditions, the struggle with the wilderness, had made Americans observant of nature; they knew her and were interested in her. Alexander Wyant and Homer Martin were thoroughly American. While both came under Barbizon influence, directly or indirectly,

and Martin lived in France, there was nothing in the art of either man of "foreign" character.

Twachtman, Weir, and Murphy continued this tradition. Transient movements of European art did not seriously change them. Murphy may be called a later Barbizon, or a nineteenth century Dutchman, but that does not affect the question. The school of landscape painting which they founded was a logical development, not based on new discoveries, not romantic nor realistic, not devoted to technical considerations of luminism or abstractness, but a direct expression of a frank wholesome love for American scenery and the effect of nature upon the human soul

But the course of American painting did not proceed along an unbroken path. For figure painting there was not at first a strong enough tradition. We began the nineteenth century with genre painting of an anecdotal kind based on the English style of Morland and Wilkie. But English figure painting reached its lowest depths at this period and so we turned to Düsseldorf, as the goal for romantic painting. This led as a natural sequence to Munich, which became the centre for historical painting. But neither the influence of Düsseldorf nor of Munich on American art was permanent. Duveneck and Chase were our two great painters and teachers who were trained at these centers and no one can say they brought the German style to America.

It was Paris which finally wielded the greatest influence on American art. But let us notice that it was not French academicism, or French classicism, which influenced us to any extent, but, instead, French realism or impressionism. I do not infer there was no academic influence, but I believe it is true that this influence, best exemplified in a few mural decorators, has not produced anything of permanent value. It is significant that our students in Paris were impressed more deeply with the realism of Courbet or the naturalism of Manet. Manet went back to Franz Hals for inspiration. The Americans in Paris joined in that movement which was to swing away from influences which they felt antagonistic to their own temperament. Impressionism was another phase of realism, and not exclusively French. It is related that Pissarro said at an exhibition of impressionist work, "If

it had not been for Yongkind, none of us would have been here." There is no doubt but that Americans have adopted impressionism and luminism as forms of expression. But while these methods were thought to be revolutionary forty or fifty years ago, in fact they were not. The misunderstanding was largely due to an ignorance of the old masters, for Breughel, van Goyen, and Vermeer, as well as others (the almost unknown Porcellis is a supreme example) had studied atmosphere and light as successfully as Monet and Pissarro, while Franz Hals and Watteau obtained either by broken color or the direct brush stroke the same spontaneous effect as the impressionists. In adopting these French methods of painting, therefore, American painters were not fleeing from natural influences, and, after all, those technical considerations were not of vital consequence. They interested American painters chiefly because of their national love for light and color.

When we come to French "post-impressionism" and "independence," we are coming too close to our own time to be able to say to what extent these movements are affecting American art. Undoubtedly, they are affecting American art in that they tend to lead us away from the literal to the expression of abstract principles. If I were to give a list of artists whom my readers would accept as true representatives of American art, they would not be called "post-impressionists." I would have to name such men as Bellows, Redfield, Hawthorne, Chauncey F. Ryder, Ben Foster, Victor Higgins, Wayman Adams, Robert Henri, and Robert Spencer.

So much may be said for the influence of tradition on American art. I wonder if it would be possible for me to suggest how we could expect the other great influence to work upon our art, that of climate and conditions of life.

Climate, geographical conditions, have, indeed, already exerted their influence to produce a national art, and, also, because of our great size, to produce local schools. This is fortunate, for as we have seen, the chief interest in a national art centers in its local character. Where the winters are severe, we have developed a love for snow scenery which is eminently characteristic. In the southwest we have begun painting the brilliant rocks and sands of Arizona and New

Mexico, while Indian life is affording another field for typical expression. When we consider our youthfulness and optimism, our exuberance, always remarked by foreigners, it is clear our art should and does express this in a love for color and brilliant effects. In this respect *Blumenschein* and *Ufer*, *Hayley Lever*, *Gifford Beal*, and *Folinsbee* are characteristically American. Then, also, our country is one of vast distances, lonely wastes, and broad rivers. We love scenes of this kind and we have artists who paint them: *John L. Lathrop*, *Gardner Symonds*, *Daniel Garber*, *Chapman*, *Elmer Schofield*, and many others.

In contrast to the wild aspect of American scenery, very characteristic of our country is our industrial development. This has, as it should, forcibly affected our artists. A number of painters are picturing our river fronts piled with shipping, our city streets with their sky scrapers, our railroad yards, our working men busily engaged, and our factories. Some of the artists who are conspicuous in this genre are *Joseph Pennell*, *Leon Kroll*, *Gifford Beal*, *Colin Campbell Cooper*, and *Henry B. Snell*. We have also to consider the great interest in other races in this country, for these races are now a part of our life. A few years ago we found pictures of negro life becoming popular. Today our attention is passing toward the west. Not only the Indians have been the subjects of pictures, but also the Chinese and the Pacific Islanders. Perhaps this interest is exotic and not likely to assist in forming a national art, but, even so, it is indicative of our cosmopolitanism, our love for life in every phase.

In portraiture, what should we term American? a predilection, no doubt, for alert types, not for psychologic analysis, nor for meditative study, but for the frank statement of surface facts. As a people we are more like the Venetians than the Florentines, more like the Dutch than the Parisians, loving either wholesome exuberance, rather than intellectual force, or materialistic well-being, rather than spiritual states. Perhaps the character of our patrons is largely accountable for this, the successful men of affairs furnishing the greatest number of commissions. But this is the fact: the American portrait shows chiefly the outward, not the inward, man.

Another characteristic of American art must be mentioned, that which is perhaps as much the result of our history as of our physical condition. The unawakened resources of America have made it possible for the American to develop whatever instincts he had for organization. We have become great organizers, with a love for system and order. This, as we should expect, has been reflected in our art. The tendencies of all our painters is to study first of all composition, to seek design. In painting, whether of landscape or of the figure, we find great decorative quality, the result, always, of good design.

And what is American art not? It is not religious, nor poetic, nor mystical. Sometimes, it is one of these, but by exception. This is a lamentable fact, but I am discussing what American art is, not what it should be. It is hopeful, however, to notice that American art is passing out of a merely realistic stage.

If we sum up our characteristics, we find that we have a love for nature in her various aspects, a love for the wilderness as well as for cultivated fields, but chiefly we love exuberant nature. We are interested in life, in scenes of industry and activity; in portraiture we prefer the captain of industry, the man alert and successful. We find we are not, after all, literal. Nor do we accept life just as it is. We prefer healthy life. There is an absence of morbidity in our art. But we order our life; we compose it decoratively. In this latter respect we have a certain idealism. Above all, we love color and light. We are intensely emotional (and this we do not borrow from any other country nor do we derive it from tradition). Lastly, and most important of all for our art's sake, we are interested in ourselves.

In this last lies our security, our only security, for if artists keep close to life about them, they are bound to be American in spirit. Nothing, therefore, could be more dangerous than for our artists to look to other countries. There is no need for them to do so. Far more need is there for them to be as local as is possible in their study.

Can we not, therefore, on every ground contradict the statement that America must for many years go to Holland and to Italy and, especially, to France for inspiration? I believe we can.

Xenophon and the Boeotian Helmet

By A. D. FRASER

IN his treatise known under the title of *Hippike* or *The Art of Horsemanship*, the historian Xenophon, writing towards the close of a busy and adventurous life, furnishes the Greek cavalryman with much expert advice drawn from his long experience as a professional soldier. No small part of the essay is concerned with the question of the choice of a proper mount, after which the matter of defensive armor for the knight is examined. Passing from one feature of this armor to another, Xenophon presently recommends a certain form of cavalry-helmet in the following terms: κράνος γε μὴν κράτιστον εἶναι νομίζομεν τὸ βοιωτιουργές· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐ στεγάζει μάλιστα πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ θώρακος, ὅρᾱν δὲ οὐ κωλύει (xii. 3).

From this brief notice he passes on to consider other matters.

We have here a specific reference to some sort of a Boeotian helmet. What was it? While it would be too much to say that an actual controversy has arisen over the point, we have to acknowledge that no very satisfactory answer has ever been returned to the questions that suggest themselves. Just what is the Boeotian helmet? Have specimens of it survived? Or have any representations of it been preserved in Hellenic art? The subject, indeed, has never been thoroughly investigated; the main attempts at identification of the helmet may here be noted.

By reason of the renowned Thebes having been the chief city of Boeotia in ancient times, several scholars have been led to recognize the Boeotian helmet of Xenophon in certain representations of helmets possessing Theban traits or associations. In the Duc de Luynes collection of pottery in the Bibliothèque Nationale, a scene appears on a cylix¹

¹*Archæolog. Zeit.*, xi (1853), pl. 52, 3; p. 20 f.

in which an athlete is portrayed wearing a helmet of the lighter so-called Attic model (Fig. 1). The headpiece is somewhat frail and diminutive, and from it there arises a long, slightly projecting neck which terminates in an eagle's head with long ears like a griffin's or, better, dragon's head—the whole forming a sort of crest, apparently some two feet in height. The specific association of this helmet with Boeotia is not entirely certain; but even if we grant the connection, it is quite obvious that the helmet would be utterly useless on the field of battle. Rather, it belongs to the category of parade or "show" helmets which we know were worn upon occasion in triumphal processions.¹ This type is well illustrated in the helmet which the goddess Athena wears in the paintings on the Panathenaic amphoræ. Furthermore, a glance at the scene on the cylix makes it clear that the casque is being presented to the athlete as a meed of victory in one of the Hellenic games.

Panofka, who is the author of the attribution to Thebes of the helmet already discussed, associates with it the helmets in two scenes, which he discusses in the *Archæologische Zeitung*.² The first of these represents a youth, presumably Theban, sinking to the ground under the paws of a sphinx (Fig. 2). He wears a head-covering of simple design, of essentially the form of the well known *pilos* (Fig. 6), with narrow rim and a small knob-like projection above. The second scene depicts, among other figures, three youths who are conversing with a sphinx (Fig. 3). They are equipped with caps which conform in general to the shape of the *pilos*, but have a peculiarly scalloped rim and appear to be so moulded as, in each case, to fit the contour of the head of the wearer. This certainly suggests the use of some flexible material, presumably skin, so that the cap could be pulled down over the head after the fashion of the oriental turban. Hence, it has been suggested by Overbeck³ that we may have here an example of the "Boeotian *κυνῆ*," or dogskin cap. A bonnet of almost identical form appears on the slab from Pella in Macedonia,

¹Dion. Halicarn., *De Demosth.*, 32.

²xii (1854), p. 189 f.

³Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis*, p. 42.



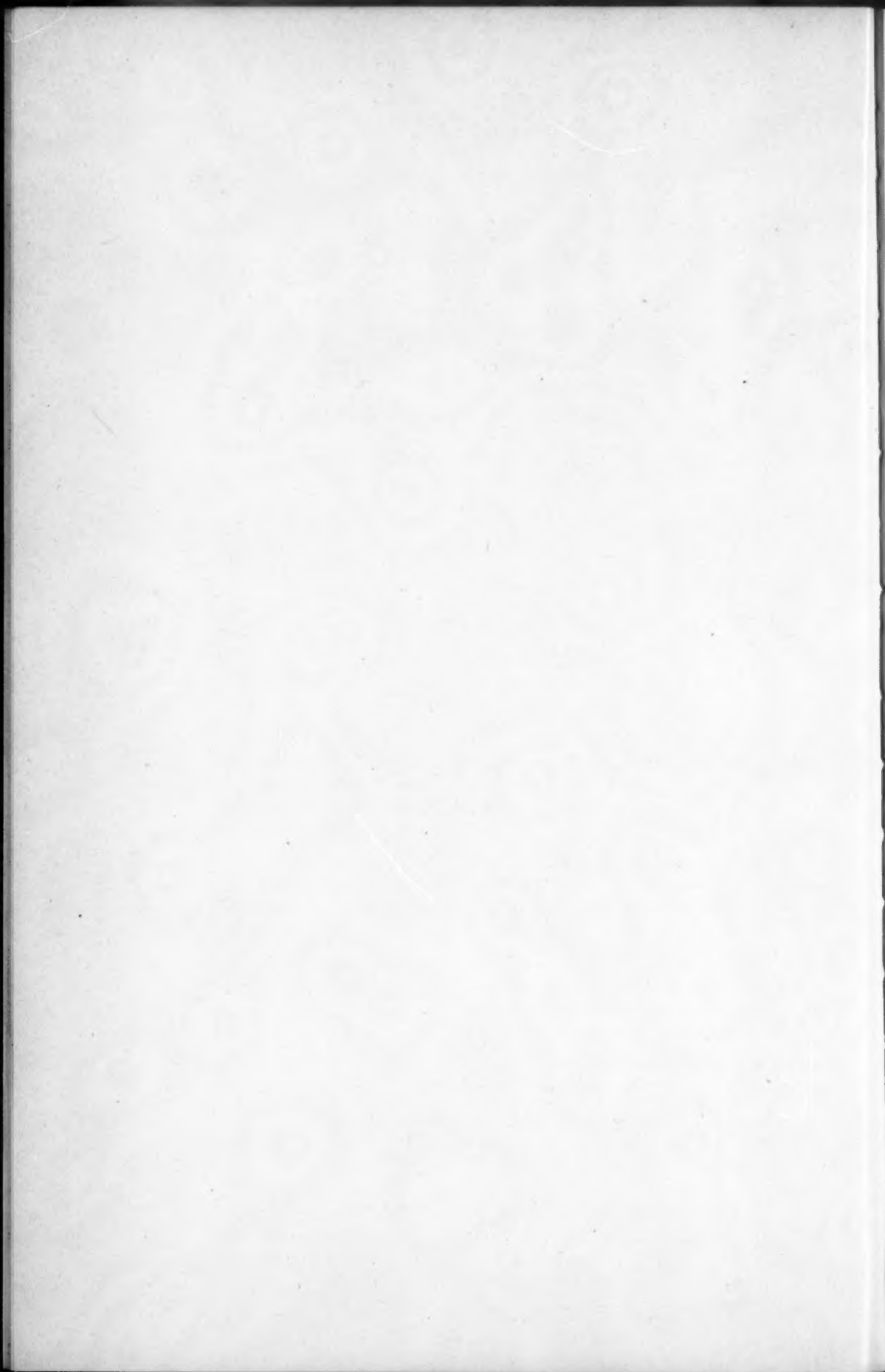
FIG. 1—PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE: INTERIOR OF CYLIX FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE DUC DE LUYNES (AFTER *Arch. Zeit.*, 1853, pl. LII, 3)



FIG. 2—BERLIN, ALTES MUSEUM: GEM (AFTER OVERBECK, *Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis*, pl. I, 8)



FIG. 3—SCENE FROM A VASE FORMERLY IN THE HAMILTON COLLECTION, LATER IN THE HOPE COLLECTION, AND SOLD TO F. PARTRIDGE (AFTER OVERBECK, *Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis*, pl. II, 2)



preserved in the Constantinople Museum, which portrays a youthful warrior wearing a cylindrical cap of about this form.¹

Furthermore, the Boeotian helmet described by Xenophon is considered by Overbeck and Furtwängler² to be represented in the style worn by the Theban warriors on the western frieze of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis at Athens, where the scene depicted is in all probability the battle of Plataea, where the men of Thebes supported the Persians. Here we have a type which does not differ radically from those already cited—a conical cap, not unlike the *cabasset* of mediæval times. Friederichs, however, has presented conclusive evidence to show that this type of head-protection is by no mean distinctive of Boeotia.³

It seems, then, perfectly safe to reject the above theories of the Boeotian helmet for the following reasons: The first type would be entirely useless on the field of battle, whether worn by mounted man or footsoldier. Panofka's other helmets are apparently but *piloi* and leathern caps. Also, the occurrence of the latter style of headgear on the coins of Thessaly shows that it was not specifically Boeotian. The helmets of the warriors on the temple of Athena Nike find duplicates frequently on Macedonian coins.⁴ Indeed, we have abundant evidence from sculpture, coins, gems, vase-paintings, and terracottas that such *piloi*—for the above types correspond closely enough with the definition of the term to admit of their being classed under this one head—were in common use throughout the entire Hellenic world. Even apart from this, they may with perfect safety be dismissed from the present consideration on the ground that they fail to tally with the description of Xenophon's helmet—"one which protects most efficiently all parts of the person above the cuirass, without obstructing the view of the wearer" (*Hippike loc. cit.*). The *pilos* protects the skull from above the glabella to the region of the external

¹Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt.*, i, fig. 157.

²Furtwängler, *Masterp. Sculpt.*, p. 446, note 4.

³Bausteine, p. 189 (= Friederichs-Wolters, p. 283).

⁴Cf., e. g., *Brit. Mus. Cat., Maced.*, p. 9.

occipital protuberance only, and altogether fails to guard the greater portion of the face and neck.

So far as I have been able to discover, but two writers of antiquity, other than Xenophon, make mention of the Boeotian helmet. These are both late authors and add nothing of a material nature to our knowledge. Julius Pollux, in the *Onomasticon* (i. 149), mentions the κράνος Βοιωτιουργές as being a noteworthy article. And Aelian (Claudius), in his *Various History* (iii. 24), has this comment to make: λέγεται οὖν ὁ τοῦ Γρύλλου τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα Ἀργολικὴν ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ θώρακα Ἀττικόν, τὸ δὲ κράνος Βοιωτιουργές, τὸν δὲ ἵππον Ἐπιδάυριον.

But both Pollux and Aelian are surely but echoing our passage in the *Hippike*. Hence, with so little literary evidence available, we are obliged to make the most of Xenophon's words.¹

We have nothing in the more imposing departments of Greek art which will cast light on the problem, and an examination of the smaller artistic objects yields but barren or negative results. Thus, in the case of engraved gems, we find that the helmet or the helmeted head was by no means a favorite *motif* with the engravers. Sporadic examples, indeed, do occur; but the casques shown are largely of the later and ornate Syro-Macedonian, Gallic, and Roman types,² while the older styles differ in no respect from the conventional so-called Corinthian and Attic models (Figs. 4 and 5).

Nor is the case different when we come to consider the terracotta figurines. Statuettes of warriors or of helmet-bearing heads are of comparatively rare occurrence, particularly so in the case of such as are of Boeotian provenance. Nothing distinctive is to be observed in the samples which we have. Thus, we see the Corinthian and Attic styles, the Phrygian cap and a variety of late types, together with many specimens of the well known *pilos*.³

¹S. Reinach, in his article on helmets in the dictionary of Daremberg and Saglio, is authority for the statement (p. 1445) that the Boeotian helmet was worn by the *Helairoi*, or cavalry bodyguard of Alexander the Great. He cites Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, i. 15, 5, as evidence—erroneously however, as there is no reference to the Boeotian helmet in this passage, or indeed in any part of the work.

²See Furtwängler, *Ant. Gem.*, i. pls. xxviii, xxix, xxxiii.

³See Winter, *Typen d. fig. Terrak.*, i. pp. 44, 179, 180; ii. pp. 176, 387.

Unfortunately, for our purpose, the field of the Boeotian coinage is so monopolized by the well known shield *motif* that coins bearing the helmet as a type are found but rarely. Only four varieties of different mintage have come down to us which have this emblem. These range in date from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the third centuries B. C. Three are stamped with likenesses of the Corinthian (Fig. 4) and two with likenesses of the Attic (Fig. 5) helmet;¹ but of anything of the nature of a distinctively Boeotian helmet, we have absolutely no trace.

Thus far our results have been almost solely of a negative character, and as such would throw doubt on the very existence of any distinct and individual Boeotian type of helmet, possessing a form essentially different from those already known. In view of this situation, it is necessary for us to revert to the citation from Xenophon.

One is forced to accept the conclusion that scholars generally have failed to read the passage with close attention and have, in particular, slighted the exact form and connotation of the adjective *Βοιωτιουργές* which Xenophon uses in conjunction with the noun *κράνος*. Elsewhere we have such common expressions as *ἀσπίς Ἀργολική* and *θώραξ Ἀττικός*. Why, therefore, does the historian herd introduce the somewhat curious term *Βοιωτιουργές* in place of *Βοιώσιον*? The answer, manifestly, is not far to seek. The clear-thinking and practical-minded soldier is certainly not here guilty of bringing in a rare compound word in place of a simple adjective for purely stylistic effect. He employs it for the obvious reason that it clearly expresses his meaning, which is "of Boeotian manufacture" or "made in Boeotia." We are not justified in wresting the Greek so as to force it to yield any other idea. The term *Βοιωτιουργές*, therefore, no more denoted the existence of a purely Boeotian type than did the familiar (until recent times) legend "Made in Germany" mark an article of merchandise as invented or patented in that country. This interpretation of our author would serve to explain the fruitless nature of our quest for the Boeotian type elsewhere.

¹See *Brit. Mus. Cat., Central Greece*, pls. vi. vii. xii.

It is, however, obvious that, while Xenophon is willing to credit the Boeotians with the employment of excellent processes in the forging and shaping of this cavalry-helmet, he must have, at the same time, some definite and specific form of headpiece in mind. Otherwise he would have been obliged to stop short of any description. We must therefore examine closely the latter part of his statement. This Boeotian-made helmet, he says, satisfies two requirements: It serves to protect, as far as possible, the wearer's head and neck, and it does not tend to obstruct his outlook. In other words, the casque constitutes the best possible mean between perfect protection and perfect freedom of view. Necessarily, it must be borne in mind that the Greeks were altogether unacquainted with the use of the barred vizor which distinguished the helmets of the mediæval knights, and the word γείσων, ordinarily translated "vizor," was regularly merely a projecting flange of metal which shaded the forehead to about the extent of the beak of the modern military cap. Nor is it to be expected that the helmet would fit down on the shoulders as it often did in the Middle Ages. It is evident that Xenophon, by the mention of a στέργασμα which rises from the upper part of the cuirass has already made provision for the protection—at least, partial—of the throat and neck of the rider¹

There seems to be no possible conclusion other than that the helmet advocated by Xenophon, while of Boeotian manufacture, is merely one of the types well known to contemporary Greeks, but one satisfying the requirement cited by the historian—that of preserving a mean between complete protection and complete freedom of outlook. Let us examine the existing styles of the fourth century B. C. in the light of this prescription.

The *pilos* (Fig. 6) we may dismiss immediately, as it constitutes an altogether inefficient form of cavalry-headpiece. It is little more than a skull-cap, as already noted, designed to guard the head against the downward cut of a broadsword or the blow of a mace, but of doubtful service (except in a retreat) against missiles or the short easily wielded swords of the Greeks. The popularity of the *pilos*

¹*Hippike*, xii. 2.

is undoubtedly due to the heat of the Greek climate, which must have rendered very irksome the wearing of a helmet which tended to "box in" the whole head.

The Corinthian type (Fig. 4)—so-called from its frequent occurrence on the coins of Corinth—furnishes an excellent covering for the entire head and face with the exception of the eyes; but, on the other hand, its form, very obviously, tended to obstruct the line of vision of the wearer, particularly if the helmet became in the slightest degree disturbed from its normal position. Xenophon must certainly have had the Corinthian type in mind when he used the words: *ὁρᾶν δὲ οὐ κωλύει*. For of all the types known at this time the Corinthian tends most to interfere with the outlook. Such indeed is its nature—both from this feature and from its close fit—that it could never have been worn in the logical position except when the wearer was actively engaged in fighting, and in the vase-paintings we usually find it pushed back, exposing the face of the warrior. In later times, moreover—though the fact is not generally known—the Corinthian in some quarters degenerated into a smaller form of helmet which could not be drawn over the face, but was always worn on the top of the head, the part originally protecting the jaws now serving as the vizor. The truth of this is made manifest through actually surviving specimens of the type and by the nature of a fair number of representations in Greek art.

The only other style that could have been popular in the age of Xenophon was the Attic (Fig. 5), which has received its name from the frequency of its occurrence on Athenian coins. This seems to have been the prototype of the Roman legionary helmet, and it constituted what might be termed a good "all-round" headpiece, though it was in no sense of the word a distinctively cavalry-helm; the knight, by the very nature of the case, can wear a much heavier suit of armor than can the infantryman. The Attic helmet is relatively light, and except in such cases where it is furnished with a long (or occasionally movable) vizor and with cheek-pieces, it is of little more merit as a protection than is the *pilos*. It is to be noted that the helmet is a difficult objec-

tive for a spearman; even the professional lancers of mediæval times preferred not to attempt to strike it with the spear point. Furthermore, there is abundant evidence to show that the Greeks regularly used their swords broadsword-fashion. The rapier-thrust seems to have been unknown, though the swords were sometimes used for stabbing, dagger-fashion, but naturally only at very close quarters. So, what the Greek cavalryman had to guard against, next to wounds on the trunk, was a slashing blow which would fall between clavicle and ear, where a very slight cut was liable to reach carotid or jugular and thus prove almost immediately fatal. The ordinary Attic helmet was powerless to grant protection against a stroke of this nature.

One other once widely popular type must have been at least known to Xenophon, though from the evidence of the vase-paintings one would be inclined to think that it had been discarded before the end of the fifth century. I refer to an older form of the Corinthian helm, from which the Corinthian proper developed, sometimes known as the helmet of Diomedes (Fig. 7). It seems doubtful if it ever went entirely out of use, and, in any case, there must have been many extant specimens in the early fourth century. Now, this type alone, of all those known to us by surviving examples or in art, will exactly fit the description of Xenophon. With its close-fitting cap, its rigid and projecting cheek-pieces and its neck-guard at the sides and back, the helmet of Diomedes served to protect almost completely the head of the wearer. At the same time, the line of vision is not obstructed. The eye-holes are considerably larger and cut farther back than we find them in the case of the Corinthian proper; the nose-guard is regularly, though not invariably, lacking; and the cheek-pieces are parted, so as not to interfere with the breathing. Indeed, it is hard to conceive of a better compromise between complete protection and an unobstructed line of vision than we here find. This type also is very frequently found on the heads of mounted men in the vase-paintings, and a comparison of it with the helmets worn by the knights in the Middle Ages



FIG. 4 — LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: BOEOTIAN BRONZE COIN OF UNCERTAIN MINTAGE, OBVERSE

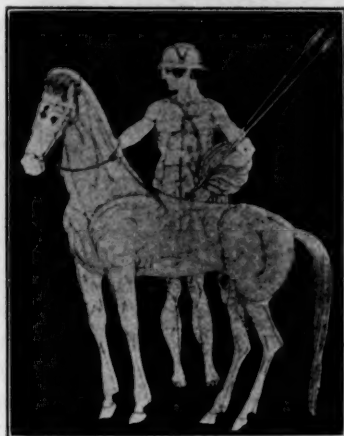


FIG. 6 — PARIS, LOUVRE: DETAIL FROM THE ARGONAUT CRATER FROM ORVIETO



FIG. 5 — LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: BOEOTIAN SILVER COIN OF CORONEIA, REVERSE (enlarged)



FIG. 7 — DETAIL FROM AN ARCHAIC VASE FORMERLY AT A ROMAN DEALER'S (AFTER GERHARD, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*, pl. CCLVIII, 2)



FIG. 8 — PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM: HELMET



shows, I think, that of all the types invented and worn by the Greeks¹ it comes nearest to the ideal cavalry helmet.

Such must have been the general form of the helmet of which Xenophon provides such a tantalizingly meagre description. It may have departed from the older style in non-essential details, but these variations could have been in no case so radical as to have constituted the setting up of an essentially new and distinct type. I am inclined on the whole, to identify the form of the Boeotian-made helmet with that of a specimen in the University Museum, Philadelphia, recently published by Luce in *The Museum Journal*² (Fig. 8). This example seems to meet the requirements of Xenophon's description in every particular, with the possible exception of the presence of a nose-guard. The casque is somewhat low and squat in appearance, and would have been of about the proper depth to meet the upper rim of the *στέγασμα* rising above the *θώραξ*. The eye-holes are unusually large, while the separation of the jaw-pieces assures a free respiration—something of great moment in the case of the horseman. The helmet is dated by Luce about 600 B. C. While this may be correct, the absence of a crest would appear to me to indicate a later date. In the history of armor, it appears almost certain that the crest is a device of as early invention as is the helmet itself, if indeed not earlier. Apparently, the primitive warrior equips himself with a crest in battle, partly for its psychological effect on the enemy, partly for reasons intimately connected with the principle of homœopathic magic. With hairy crest, like that of the lion or the wild boar, he deems himself to have become a veritable representative of these formidable creatures. For this reason, no less than from the weighty evidence of the vase-paintings, we seem justified in assuming that the crestless helmet was a somewhat late invention. It may be noted that extant specimens of a type strikingly like that shown in Fig. 8—crestless, and of similar shape—have been thought by some scholars to have been worn by the Macedonian troops of Alexander the Great.

¹Cf., e. g., Ffoulkes, *Armour and Weapons*, pl. iv.

²xi (1920), no. i. p. 71 f.; fig. 44.

If many circumstances seem to point to the form of the helmet of Diomedes as being the one recommended by Xenophon, the historical situation, also, is perhaps not without its significance in explaining why the specific word "Boeotian" should have been associated with the helmet by the historian. It is generally agreed among scholars that the treatise on horsemanship was composed about 362 B. C., the year which marked the downfall of the Theban supremacy and saw the death of Xenophon's own son, Gryllus, in a cavalry-engagement against the Boeotians. Now, we learn from Arrian¹ and others that Epaminondas, the Theban military genius, had during the preceding decade introduced important innovations into the Theban army, affecting both tactics and armor. There is nothing more likely than that he should have equipped his cavalry—an important arm of the Boeotian service—with the best style of armor available, which would seem to include a helmet of the type described. There is nothing to suggest that he invented any new style of cavalry-helmet; a revival of the helmet of Diomedes would be his next-best course. Xenophon of course, was perfectly familiar with Theban affairs and must have had intimate knowledge of the activities of Epaminondas. It appears, therefore, very probable that he should have referred to the revived helmet of Diomedes, which probably had at that time no particular name, as the "Boeotian-made" helmet.

¹*Ars Tactica*, 11.

REVIEWS

ETRUSKISCHE MALEREI. BY FRITZ WEEGE. 8°, 120 PP., 101 PLS. & 88 FIGS.
HALLE, 1921. 108 M. **ETRUSCAN TOMB PAINTINGS, THEIR SUBJECTS
AND SIGNIFICANCE.** BY FREDERIK POULSEN. (TR. BY I. ANDERSEN.)
8°, 59 PP., 22 PLS. OXFORD, CLARENDON PRESS, 1922. \$5.65.

The publication of these two important volumes revives enthusiasm for a subject that is always interesting to scholars. The Etruscan language is still unread, despite the recent appearance of an Etruscan dictionary which attempts to show that the language is related to Old Egyptian; the relations of Etruria to early Rome and to Lydia are still far from clear. Weege proposes a second volume to include the unpublished tombs outside of Corneto and we may hope for other books on the valuable material which crowds the Etruscan museums.

The publication by Weege is primarily important for archæologists. Little of the book actually deals with the subjects of the paintings at Corneto, their technical details and importance in the history of ancient painting; these things are probably being reserved for his next volume. Much more space is devoted to the discovery and copying of the tombs, especially those which interested Baron Kestner and the archæologist, Stackelberg. Interesting though this is, undue weight has probably been given to this section, which occupies almost one third of the text. The most engrossing part of the book is perhaps Chapter III, which deals with the beliefs of the Etruscans about the other world and the way in which these subjects were treated in their tombs. Before the middle of the 5th century, the walls were covered with gay scenes of dances, banquets, games, hunting, and fishing—the pleasures which the Etruscan enjoyed in this life and hoped to continue in the next. After the beginning of the 4th century, under the influence of Orphic-Pythagorean teaching, introduced into southern Italy by the Greeks, these scenes of joy gave way

to pictures of the trials and torments which the soul must undergo in its wanderings in order to be purified and enter Elysium. Another topic which interests the author is the relation of Etruscan to Roman and Tuscan art. He dwells especially on the survival of Etruscan ideas and types in early Tuscan painting. The soil which produced the Tomb of the Cardinal with the souls of the dead tormented by evil spirits and the Tomb of Hades with its hideous Charon figures was later to give rise to the *Trionfo della Morte* in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The angels and devils of mediæval times find their prototypes in the benign and malevolent winged demons of Etruscan art and in the ass-eared, parrot-beaked Charon, the ruler of the souls of the dead (p. 50). Out of this soil grew the *Inferno* of Dante. Sarcophagi with recumbent figures guarded by lions, such as the tomb of Ilaria del Caretto (which, by the way, has in fact no lions but merely a pet dog), at Lucca, by Jacopo della Quercia, hark back to Etruscan models. Much that passes as Byzantine may be attributed to Etruscan influence, for example, the reliefs from Cividale. Lions which support columns, like those of Pisano's in the baptistery in Pisa, go back to Etruscan art (pp. 16-18). The indebtedness of Rome to Etruria is briefly treated (p. 20). The gladiatorial games are traced back to Campania, not Etruria. The Eastern origin of the Etruscans is accepted; they probably entered Italy by the Adriatic or from the northeastern corner. Weege has a higher opinion of the artistic ability of the Etruscans than many writers and labels the chimæra and Capitoline wolf as genuine Etruscan works of art, not Ionic. Not all of Weege's views will meet with acceptance by scholars, but the book is full of erudition and is indispensable to students. The splendid illustrations also fill a long felt want.

Poulsen's book makes the tombs interesting for the layman as well as for the scholar. He places much more emphasis on distinguishing what is native Etruscan in the paintings and what is borrowed from Greece. There is much more of an attempt to reconstruct Etruscan life and to weigh its influence on Rome. We see Etruscan men and women seated together in their "boxes," at the games. We see

their cooks in the kitchen making cheese cakes to the music of the flute. The dancers about the funeral couches seem quite as important as the mourners and the funeral banquets and athletic games are very essential parts of the ceremonies in honor of the dead. The cruelty of the Etruscans is well brought out (p. 51 ff.). "Sex and cruelty is the 'basic group' of the Etruscan mind." They wounded prisoners in the legs to prevent escape and tied the dead and living captives together to rot side by side. We may not be inclined to be so broad-minded as Poulsen in regard to Etruscan morals. Men who did not scruple to place in their tombs obscenities such as are found in the Tomb of the Bulls or the dances in the Tomb of the Lioness would hardly mind the representation of *hetærae* at a symposium on the walls. But, in general, his point is well taken and most of the women reclining at banquets are probably respectable married women, not *hetærae*.

Poulsen holds that it is significant that the scenes of delight in material pleasures synchronize with the period of Etruscan imperialism. After that time a gradual decline of power sets in and the Etruscans "under pressure of disaster become another people, pessimistic, in terror of death" and less inclined to indulge in the pleasures of life. Thus he would account for the gloomy scenes in the tombs and would not, as Weege has done, assign them to Orphic-Pythagorean influence.

One misses in his selection of paintings, the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, one of the most brilliant and original compositions in Etruscan art, and the scenes from the Tomba François which deal with early Roman history. The latter represent the struggle between Mastarna (Servius Tullius) and his friend Caeles Vibenna, against a member of the Tarquin family. Poulsen rejects the interpretation of Harmon and Weege that the Tomba Campana at Veii represents a hunting scene, because he believes the leopard does not have the long tail of the hunting leopard. He considers the animal a space filler. I am inclined to think that Harmon is right and that the tail will be found to be tangled up among the tendrils. At least so it seemed to me when I examined it.

Weege and Poulsen vary considerably in their dating of several of the tombs. The placing of the Tomba del Tifone in the first half of the 4th century seems too early when one recalls figures in Hellenistic art similar to the Typhon, and one is inclined to agree here with Weege on the 3rd to the 2nd century. Poulsen also places the Tomba degli Scudi at the end of the 5th century, but it is much more advanced in style than the Tomba del Orco, which is probably of the 4th, and it has about it a certain provincial character, as does also the "triumphal procession" in the Tomba del Tifone. I should date the Tomba degli Scudi at the end of the 4th century.

Poulsen's book makes accessible for the average person important Etruscan material. Some paintings are pictured here for the first time. It deserves to rank with his "Delphi" as a scholarly book that is at the same time readable—a tribute that cannot always be paid to archæological books.

Mary Hamilton Swindler